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576 592 601 551 A Badawin wanting to ask after the lady of the house and not knowing his host very well, will often say, *Kaif hál illi wardkum?* (How is the person behind you?) This is polite and permissible.

Of course, should a man live in his father's tent, he never speaks of his *ahl al bait*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the *ahl* of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his, the father's tent, it, the tent, is known as the tent of the children of So-and-So—*Bait aulád fulan*. The *ahl al bait* in these circumstances is either the dead man's old wife (their mother), or the wife who has charge of the tent.

628 613 There is another application of the word *ahl*. If you want to indicate the inhabitants of a certain tribal area, such as the Mutair of the Summán country, you can use the expression "*Ahl al Summán*", "Ahl al Suda", i.e. the inhabitants of the Summán, or of the Suda, meaning those who have a right to those places and live there.

On 11th August, 1935, in discussing this matter with Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga al Harri of the Diyahîn section of the Mutair, he explained to me that the importance of this *ahl* idea lay in the root question of who would have to exact vengeance for a man, if he were murdered or killed (war or a raid, of course, excluded). Someone, he said, must follow up the murderer and kill him. The duty of doing this devolves on any or all of a man's *ahl*. A man's *ahl* consists of his own living descendants, for three generations, and includes also his ascendants to the third generation. That is to say, his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons; also his father, grandfather and great-grandfather, and their other descendants.

An *ahl*, added Shaikh 'Ubaid al Mutragga, protects a man from injustice, and must also be prepared to suffer for his guilt.

BANI 'ÁM

613 582 The terms (1) Bani 'Ám, (2) Walad 'Ám, (3) Bint 'Ám are some of the expressions most commonly heard and daily used amongst the Badawin.

The 'Ajman and the Ál Murra tribes are Bani 'Ám, or 'Amam for instance, and the Walad 'Ám only takes as bride his Bint 'Ám (first cousin), unless he specifically decides to free her from the duty of marrying him.

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Male Line of Descent

(1) *Bani 'Ám.* According to Shaikh Nahar al Mutalaqim of the 'Ajman, who discussed this with me on 11th August, 1935, the members of every tribe or section of a tribe which have a common male ancestry are known as Bani 'Ám, *lit.* the children of one uncle. The Mutair and 'Ajman are more strict than others about the interpretation of the above, he said, and carry it to the seventh generation of ascendants. Beyond that, he added, genealogies were rather vague. Only blood relationship on the father's side (*'Amam*) gives the right of Bani 'Ám or Ibn 'Ám, and not the relationship on the mother's side, which is known under the name of *Khawál.*

A man in trouble can always rely on his *'Amam* to come to his assistance. They must do this regardless of consequences—and so must a tribe which has such relationship with another, the 'Ajman-Murra tribes for instance.

The 'Ajman and Murra were continually at each other's throats in the past, and raided and counter-raided in merry fashion, but when an outside enemy attacked the one, all private feuds were put aside, and the two united in resisting the attack. The reason was that they were descended from the common ancestor Yam and so were *Bani 'Ám.*

The families of Ibn Sa'ud, Ibn Subah, Ibn Khalifa and Abal Khail of Qassim are all *Bani 'Ám*, and so can always be counted on, in any serious difficulty, to come to one another's help. They are all 'Anizah, descended from the same distant ancestor.

A man's *Khawál*, his maternal relations, are of course useful, especially in offering sanctuary, but they are not under the same obligations as a man's *Bani 'Ám.*

'Amam al rajál, aḳam min khawálu is a well-known saying. This explains happenings which sometimes mystify the European. A man marries a woman from another tribe; she proves unfaithful (the instance I am describing has to my knowledge happened among 'Arabdar and Hadhar persons of Kuwait), the husband does not seem to mind much, but hints to the wife's *'Amam* that she is not all that she should be. They, being her *Bani 'Ám*, kill her, but do not enlist the outraged husband. She is slain to clear the family's good name, and to enable them to hold up their heads in the *mijlis arjal*, or counsels of men. Should a couple have children, a son and a daughter, and the daughter happens to disgrace the family, then either the

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613 627 604 893 father or the son (the girl's brother) has to kill her to wipe out the dishonour. If her father is dead and she has no brother, then her *walad 'ám*, a male cousin on her father's side, must take action and do the deed.

613 604 721 628 Between *bani 'ám* certain actions are taboo. For instance, a man must never seize and bind one of his *'amam* even though he be a thief. Nor must he, if on the warpath, attack his *'amam* by a *dawn* attack or raid him after *midnight*. It is *'aib* (disgraceful) to do this.

Between *bani 'ám* the generally agreed price of a man killed (*'idiya*) is fixed at 50 camels, a man, and a rifle. The payment of these settles the blood feud. Should an outsider, however, slay a man there is a different scale, and should he kill an important shaikh such as the Al Subah, Al Sa'ud, Al Dushan, Al Sha'alan, then only blood can expiate the crime. (See Chapter XLII.)

WALAD 'ÁM

601 (2) *Walad 'Ám*—father's brother's son (first cousin—male on father's side).

BINT 'ÁM

613 582 (3) *Bint 'Ám*—father's brother's daughter (first cousin—female—on father's side). See also Chapter VIII.

[601] A man always has the right to marry his *bint 'ám*, and no man, not even his parents or the girl's parents, can deny him this right.

Should he voluntarily forgo it, he will give the girl a paper, saying that he does not want her. The whole idea of this first-cousin marriage is protective, and is designed to keep the family intact. A girl knows from earliest childhood that her future husband will be her *walad 'ám*. She cannot evade such marriage unless her cousin waives his right or allows another man to purchase this right from him. This latter procedure is not common.

On the whole, this first-cousin marriage works well. It at least insures a girl a husband, as soon as she comes of age to marry. Among more civilised Arabs it has led to much abuse, and brothers have prevented their sisters marrying lest they take property out of the immediate family. This fraternal tyranny has frequently been exercised among the Al Sa'adun shaikhs in Iraq.

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Appendix XXVI

APPENDIX XXVI

Ref. Chapter XXXVII, p. 483

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON SAILING BOATS

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(a) The Kuwait signal of distress at sea and understood by all Kuwaiti mariners, is a black cloth or cloak (bhishe) tied round the mast. It is known as "Al Nauda". In extreme peril three black cloaks are tied round the mast.

(b) On the high seas a Kuwaiti sailing craft wanting food or water from an ocean-going steamship will hoist his national flag. Captains know what this means and do the needful. British captains in particular have a great name among Arab sailors for stopping and assisting boats in distress.

APPENDIX XXVII

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Connection of the Al Sa'ud, Al Sabah and the Al Khalifa with the 'Anizah.

As mentioned in another place, the Al Sa'ud, the Al Sabah and the Al Khalifa, rulers of Sa'udi Arabia, Kuwait and Bahrain are of 'Anizah stock.

(a) The Al Sa'ud are descended from the Masalikh section of the Ruwalla.
(b) Al Sabah are descended from the Bajaida section of the Al Jibal. (Though some say they are of Dahamsha stock).
(c) Al Khalifa are descended from the Al Riba' (Al Rabba') section of the Al Jibal (i.e. ibn Hadhal).

When we talk of the Amarat group of the 'Anizah it is understood that both Al Jibal and Dahamsha are jointly referred to.

Shaikh Mijwal al Masrab (husband of Lady Digby), was a powerful chief of the Al Shea sixty years ago. To-day the section has come down in the world.

The Bani Atiyah of Hejaz like to claim that they are 'Anizah descended from Wail. Their claim is not accepted by the pure 'Anizah of the north.

Mashuri ibn Mussiyis, paramount Shaikh of Al Wasil branch of the Mutair (Ibn Sa'ud's nominee), is of Dahamsha tribe of 'Anizah.

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Diffusion and Function in Social Organization

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The problems connected with diffusion of so-called social traits have been only superficially studied by anthropologists, who hold very different views about this matter. Thus Murdock stresses that "the forms of social organization seem singularly impervious to diffusion" and that "traits of social structure appear to be borrowed, in general, only under conditions in which the same traits would be independently elaborated even in the absence of culture contacts" (Murdock 1949, p. 196). This extreme view is that adopted by some anthropologists, while other scholars agree with Lowie that diffusion has played a large part in the distribution of traits of social organization (Lowie 1950, p. 261; 1953, p. 421 f.).

It is often stated in anthropological literature that there is not necessarily any functional connection between a particular type of social organization and a particular type of economic culture. This was shown very clearly by Wissler for the American Indians (cf. Wissler 1922). In regard to Northern Africa we have a type of patrilineal social organization which is shared by all Arabs, whether settled agriculturists or true nomads, and we have another type of social organization among Tuareg-speaking pastoralists and agriculturists. Arab and Tuareg pastoralists have largely the same type of economy, but differ much in social organization. The same holds for Arab and Tuareg agriculturists.

B 613 [114]

I have never studied Arab social organization in great detail. The patrilineages of North African Arab pastoralists have been brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard in regard to the bedouins of Cyrenaica (Evans-Pritchard 1949), and the Arab bedouins I have visited (e.g., *Ulad Ba Ḥammu*, *Chamba*, *Larba*, *Ulad Naïl*) apparently have lineage-systems of much the same type. The *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* tribe falls into four maximal patrilineages which again divide into lesser patrilineal units. An Arab is named after an ancestor of a minor patrilineage of his tribe and by an individual name. When he writes his name the ancestral name comes first. A *Chamba* Arab I knew well was named *Ben Hadid Sayah*. *Sayah* was his personal name while *Ben Hadid* ("son of *Hadid*") referred to the ancestor of his patrilineage with a depth of five generations.

B 601

It seems as if Arab kinship terminology is of very much the same type throughout North Africa. I have taken down the systems used among the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* and the *Chamba*, and they appear to be identical apart from dialectical distinctions. The systems are characterized by a preference for descriptive terms. Those for "father" and "mother" are not used for kinsmen other than the true parents, though a father's brother may be called "father" if the true father has died. There is a term for "grandfather" and "grandmother" which can be used for all grandparents, while kinsmen of lower generations are known by descriptive terms so that it is always clear whether a kinsman belongs to

[p. 447]